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ABSTRACT

With particular attention to the use of questions and the maintenance of topics, the classroom discussion of kindergarten children and their teacher during a storybook lesson was analyzed to determine how conversational control is maintained and what rules of conversation might apply in the classroom. A transcript for discourse analysis was obtained by recording on tape 19 minutes of a group reading session that included frequent interruptions resulting in brief discussions. Several analyses were performed on the questions of both the teacher and the children as well as on the topics raised by each. These analyses included marking utterance and topic boundaries, categorizing questions and topics in terms of type and function, and determining the interaction between question type and function. Further analyses were performed to consider how children and teachers might initiate topics through questions. Results reveal differences between discourse in a group learning situation and in normal everyday conversation. The conclusion drawn is that certain rules of conversation do not apply in the classroom, particularly with regard to the teacher's questions and remarks. Notation used for the transcription and data from the analysis of topical structure are appended. (Author/RH)

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Conversational Control in a Kindergarten Story-telling Session

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Conversational Control in a Kindergarten Story-telling Session

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This paper describes the first of a series of studies of conversational competence in classroom settings, through the analysis of a story-telling session in a Kindergarten class. Specifically, the use of questions and maintenance of topics both by the teacher and her pupils is examined to determine how conversational control is maintained and what rules of conversation might apply in the classroom. With regard to the features examined, suggestions are made concerning differences between discourse in a group learning situation and in normal conversation. The resulting analysis suggests a developmental increase in more formal uses of questions with schooling.

Conversational Control in a Kindergarten Story-telling Session

The topic of this paper is the consideration of some aspects of communication within a group of kindergarten children led through a discussion by their teacher. The reason for performing such an analysis is to determine some of the factors by which the teacher effectively maintains control of the group and confines the discussion to relevant topics. Hopefully once derived, such an analysis can be applied to other discussions occurring within a classroom setting with a view to determining which particular features of discourse signal the rules for classroom conversation and also facilitate effective communication and effective learning. In other words, this analysis could be one step towards determining not only rules for classroom communication but also some of the features that differentiate effective group-teaching strategies from less effective strategies.

Recent work on the study of language by anthropologists, psychologists, linguists and language philosophers tends to converge on a central theme--the importance of the social context in understanding language and how it is used. There has been, therefore, a shift in emphasis towards consideration of the whole communicative act in which language is embedded. Language is not merely an instrument for conveying factual information; rather as part of the communicative act, it serves both expressive and social functions (Lyons, 1977).

Attempts to account for language meaning in terms of function and context address issues about the kinds of knowledge a speaker should possess in order to produce appropriate and comprehensible statements. Hymes (1972) has suggested that this knowledge forms part of each individual's communicative competence--knowledge about how to communicate effectively,

or what it is appropriate to say and when it is appropriate to say it. Grice (1957/1975) has specified one such set of conditions to take into account the cooperative nature of normal discourse. According to Grice, participants in conversations observe the Cooperative Principle by conforming to a set of maxims: Quantity, or make your contribution sufficiently informative but no more than is required; Quality, or state only that for which you have adequate evidence of truth; Relation, or be relevant; and Manner, or be clear, precise and orderly. Lakoff takes into account another factor in the determination of what is said in a conversation, namely politeness which she claims is "the only conversational goal of higher priority than clarity" (1977, p. 213). She suggests three rules of politeness: Formality, or don't impose on others; Deference, or give options; and Camaraderie, or be friendly, show sympathy. Further these rules are given differential weight depending upon the speaker/listener relationship (see also, Brown and Levinson, 1978). For example, the second rule, show deference, is of particular importance if the listener is of higher status than the speaker. Lakoff (1973) has added two further maxims which pertain specifically to questions and imperatives: To ask a question the speaker should need to know the answer, and to give a command the speaker should have the appropriate authority.

In general most individuals conform to these rules. If we are participating in a conversation, we tend for example to make our contributions relevant; we do not suddenly talk about hot dogs in the middle of a conversation about snowmobiles. But we do not always conform to the rules and in fact in some situations, we may choose to violate them. The deliberate violation

of such rules is usually made with the assumption that the listener will detect the violation and thereby extract some meaning other than the literal meaning of what was stated. Such violations are usually termed indirect speech acts (Searle, 1975), and frequently cited examples are indirect requests or commands. For instance, one could ask for a drink by using the indirect declarative "Am I ever thirsty" rather than the more direct "May I have a drink?" or most direct "Give me a drink". Further, our selection of one expression over another is often determined by such social considerations as relative status and politeness (Lakoff, 1975; Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Brown and Levinson, 1978).

In addition to knowing what to say in a conversation, individuals must learn when it is appropriate to speak. Thus one manifestation of communicative competence is the turn-taking that occurs between speakers in a conversation. Not only are speakers required to maintain and switch topics in appropriate ways (Keenan, 1974; Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976; Jefferson, 1972), but speakers and listeners must also change roles frequently and with a minimum of overlapping speech and silences in the dialogue (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Jefferson, 1973). Each speaker, then, is constrained by rules of discourse not to interrupt the other but rather to wait for the other to finish and then continue with something relevant (Fillmore, 1972) and as quickly as possible (Jefferson, 1973). Hence Sacks (n.d.) suggests that one underlying rule of conversation is that "at least one and not more than one party talks at a time", participants quickly readjusting the situation when silences and overlaps occur. Rules for turn-taking, however, operate to minimize these occurrences. Hence the transfer of speaker-listener

roles usually takes place at possible completion points in the speech which are determined by grammatical and semantic factors (Sacks, n.d.). At such points the speaker has the option of selecting the next speaker or of holding the floor via incompletion markers such as "but", "and", "however" and so on. The competent listener, on the other hand, must be able to produce a relevant utterance at the exact appropriate moment (Jefferson, 1973). In addition to rules for turn-taking based on grammatical and semantic factors, there is also evidence that speakers use paralinguistic and kinesic cues to signal the next speaker's turn, for instance head movements (de Long, 1974) or long gazes at the listener (Kendon, 1967). Duncan (1974) describes rules for signalling to the other when one is completing one's own turn, based on a set of grammatical, paralinguistic or kinesic cues; such signals give listeners the option of responding, the more cues displayed simultaneously, the greater the likelihood the listener will respond. Other studies have looked in a similar manner at procedures and devices for entering (Schegloff, 1972; McTear, 1978), for closing (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973) and for maintaining (Keenan, 1974a) conversations.

Keenan (1974a; 1977) has recently argued that many of these aspects of conversational maintenance are acquired at a very early age. Garvey (1977) reports that children as young as three years of age, are capable of playing with the rules of conversation, intentionally violating conventions and underlying belief conditions for the sake of a verbal game. Such play suggests then that the rules for conversation are already implicitly understood. However, Bellack and his colleagues, together with Coulthard, Sinclair and their colleagues, have shown that the converational rules in operation in

classrooms may be very different from those which operate in less formal situations.

What is known about the language of the classroom? Borman (1978) has reported that approximately 50% of some teachers' verbal interactions are of a directive nature. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have further reported that a high proportion of these directives are indirect (e.g., I see chewing gum; I hear someone talking). It seems that although young children, even by Grade 2, rarely produce indirect requests spontaneously (Olson and Hildyard, 1980), they do by age 5 or 6 show some awareness of their meaning (Ervin-Tripp, 1977). If imperatives or directives form half of the teacher's verbal utterances, then it is likely that the majority of the remaining utterances involve questions of some sort. Indeed Shuy (1980) in a study of the question-asking strategies in the classrooms of six teachers, found that one third of the teachers' utterances were questions. However, it seems that teachers rarely ask questions because they need to know the answer (which would be the most appropriate way to use a question in normal conversation). Rather, teachers use questions to hold students accountable for the knowledge they are supposed to have acquired (Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman and Smith, 1966). Moreover the right to ask a question is a high status prerogative (Bellack et al, 1966; Goody, 1978) and the teacher often uses questions as a means of control (Gumperz and Herasimchuk, 1975).

What then are the rules of classroom conversation and how does the child come to acquire those rules? Presumably the child brings to school with him a fairly elaborate set of procedures for oral communication--rules acquired in the mastery of the "mother tongue" (Olson, 1977). He already

possesses then, a communicative competence with regard to the normal conversational setting of the home. How does he move from that set of rules to the sets of rules that apply in classroom situations, either in private or group sessions with a teacher? Presumably those rules emerge in the course of classroom conversations and the child develops his social skills in the various situations in which he finds himself. Through classroom activities and lessons, then, the child not only has the opportunity to acquire knowledge about subject matter, but also to learn about the exprectations or rules for social action in these events (Wallat and Gilen, 1979). In other words the child is able "to practice the making of social events and structures in common with others" (Cook-Gumperz, 1973, p. 7). Presumably one goal of the kindergarten year is to guide the child into the use of appropriate rules for conversations in the classroom. We might expect that throughout the year, discussion groups will become gradually more structured to the requirements of the school, that is less determined by the rules of conversation the child brings with him from home and more determined by those rules of conversation that emerge and are practised in specific classroom situations.

One method for obtaining information about the nature of those rules and their development in the classroom is to collect and analyze samples of discourse. By studying the conversations of school children and their teachers in various school contexts and across grades, one could presumably chart the development of discourse strategies and perhaps eventually determine which of those strategies are most effective in teaching, both for conveying subject matter knowledge and for teaching to the child the language of the school. In order to determine what some of the rules for classroom discourse might be,

the discussion engaged in by a kindergarten class during a storybook lesson was analyzed with a particular emphasis on the use of questions both by the teacher and her students, and on the teacher's maintenance of control in the group. While many samples of classroom discourse across varied school situations need to be analyzed for a clear understanding of the rules of language in the classroom, the present analysis should suggest directions for further research.

Procedure

To obtain the transcript for analysis, the author tape-recorded a group-reading session engaged in by a kindergarten class in a Toronto public school. In this session, which took place in the school library, the teacher read the story "Madeline" to a group of 24 children sitting on the floor, facing her. The book contained large illustrations which were shown to the children as the story was read. There were frequent interruptions in reading from both children and teacher, usually resulting in a brief discussion. The session, which lasted about 19 minutes, occurred in February, hence midway through the school year. The transcript was checked twice by independent judges who had seen the children twice a week for one month. The transcript and notation for reading it are provided in the appendix.

Analyses

Several analyses were performed on the questions of both the teacher and children as well as the topics raised by each. Each analyis will be described along with the results. The first step in the analysis consisted of marking utterance boundaries throughout the transcript. An utterance was taken to be a word or group or words functioning as an independent semantic unit.

Analysis of Questions--Questions were isolated and subjected to the following analysis. First the ratio of questions to utterances was calculated both for the teacher and for the children as a group. In the teacher's speech, of 240 utterances that were isolated, 79 were questions, yielding a ratio of about one question per three utterances, the same ratio reported by Shuy (1980). For the children's speech, of 314 utterances isolated, 37 were questions, yielding a ratio of approximately one question per 8.5 utterances. Questions were also categorized as to type: Yes/No, wh-, open-ended, tag questions; and indirect requests. The results of that breakdown are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Categorizing the Questions of Teacher and Students

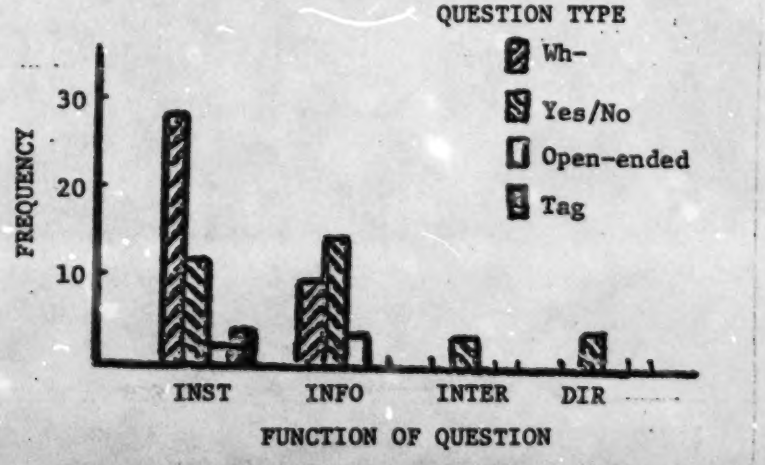
	Type of Question (and Example)	Per Cent of Total Questions	
		Teacher	Children
1.	Yes/No - do you think she lives in a castle?	42	46
2.	wh- - where does she live?	49	54
3.	open-ended - Ian, you wanted to say something?	4	
4.	tag - that would be a lot for one mother, wouldn't it?	5	

As indicated in the table, wh- questions are the most frequently used type of questions by both the teacher and the children, accounting for approximately half of the questions used by each. Interestingly, open-ended questions and tag questions, considered by Shuy (1980) to be the most and least useful respectively in terms of the answers they elicit, are used only by the teacher and account for a low percentage of her questions. The teacher's questions were also categorized according to function, a scheme similar to one recently used by Morine-Dershimer and Fagal (1980) in their analysis of the same six teachers studied by Shuy. The categories are the following:

INSTructional, questions intended to get the children to think or to learn something, to find out if they know something the teacher already knows (how come they're sad?); INFOrmational, questions intended to get the children to tell the teacher something she does not know (what happened to you?); INTERactive, questions intended to keep the conversation going (taking one's turn) or to end a topic of conversation politely, in other words questions that really do not need to be answered at all (going to Paris?; did she?); and finally DIRectives, questions that are really requests for action-usually indirect (do you want to take your shoe and sock off?). Results of this analysis indicate that about 58% of this teacher's questions were instructional, 30% were informational, 6% were interactive and 5% were directive (and indirect requests). It is interesting to note then that about 36% of the teacher's questions can be considered more purely conversational in nature (informational and interactive) and hence informal, about 60% can be considered controlling questions, in violation of some conversational principle or maxim. These questions being used primarily in a learning setting, can be considered more formal in nature.

The results of an analysis of the interaction between the type and function of questions used by the teacher is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Teacher's questions analyzed by type and function.



It is clear from this analysis that most questions intended to be instructional are of the wh- type (62%), some are yes/no questions (26%) and a few are open-ended (4%) and tag (9%) questions. Questions that are in fact requests for information tend to be of the yes/no type (54%) or wh- type (35%) with a few of the open-ended type (12%). Questions that are interactive in nature and also those that are indirect requests or directives are always of the yes/no type.

Analysis on Topics - Topic boundaries were marked in the transcripts such that a topic was considered the set of utterances that formed a unit of conversation about a single theme. Decisions over boundaries were made subjectively and in some cases a somewhat arbitrary decision was made as often a theme might actually be considered a sub-topic of a larger theme. Nevertheless divisions were quite easily made in nearly all cases. Each topic was then analysed for the following features, whether it was openned by a teacher or a child (and hence a "teacher topic" or a "child topic"), whether it was closed by a teacher or a child, the number of conversational turns in each (a turn being defined as the continuous speech of one speaker contingent on the speech of the preceding speaker), the number of utterances pertaining to the topic, whether the initiating utterance was a statement or a question, and if it was a question, of what type and what function. A list of the topics isolated and their complete breakdown with regard to these features is contained in the Appendix.

The results of this analysis can be summarized as follows. The teacher initiated 17 topics in addition to topic F which is the story itself. The children initiated 32 topics, nearly twice as many as the teacher. Of these, half (16 of the 32) involved personal experiences of

the children usually relating to some aspect of the story, but the remaining 16 are directly related to the story and many are topics the teacher probably wanted raised, such as those topics concerning the understanding of concepts important to the story (What's an appendix?, What's a scar?, How come they're sad?, etc.). The 17 teacher-raised topics are slightly longer an average (8.12 turns and 12.06 utterances per topic) than are topics raised by the children (6.44 turns and 9.75 utterances). Interestingly, of the topics raised by children, about 80% are closed (or switched) by the teacher and not by other children. However, of the 33 times a topic was raised by the teacher (including re-introduction of the story), about 58% are closed (or switched) by the children.

The topical structure for the entire session is diagrammed Figure 2. An arrow indicates a relationship between two topics such that the second

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Insert Figure 2 about here

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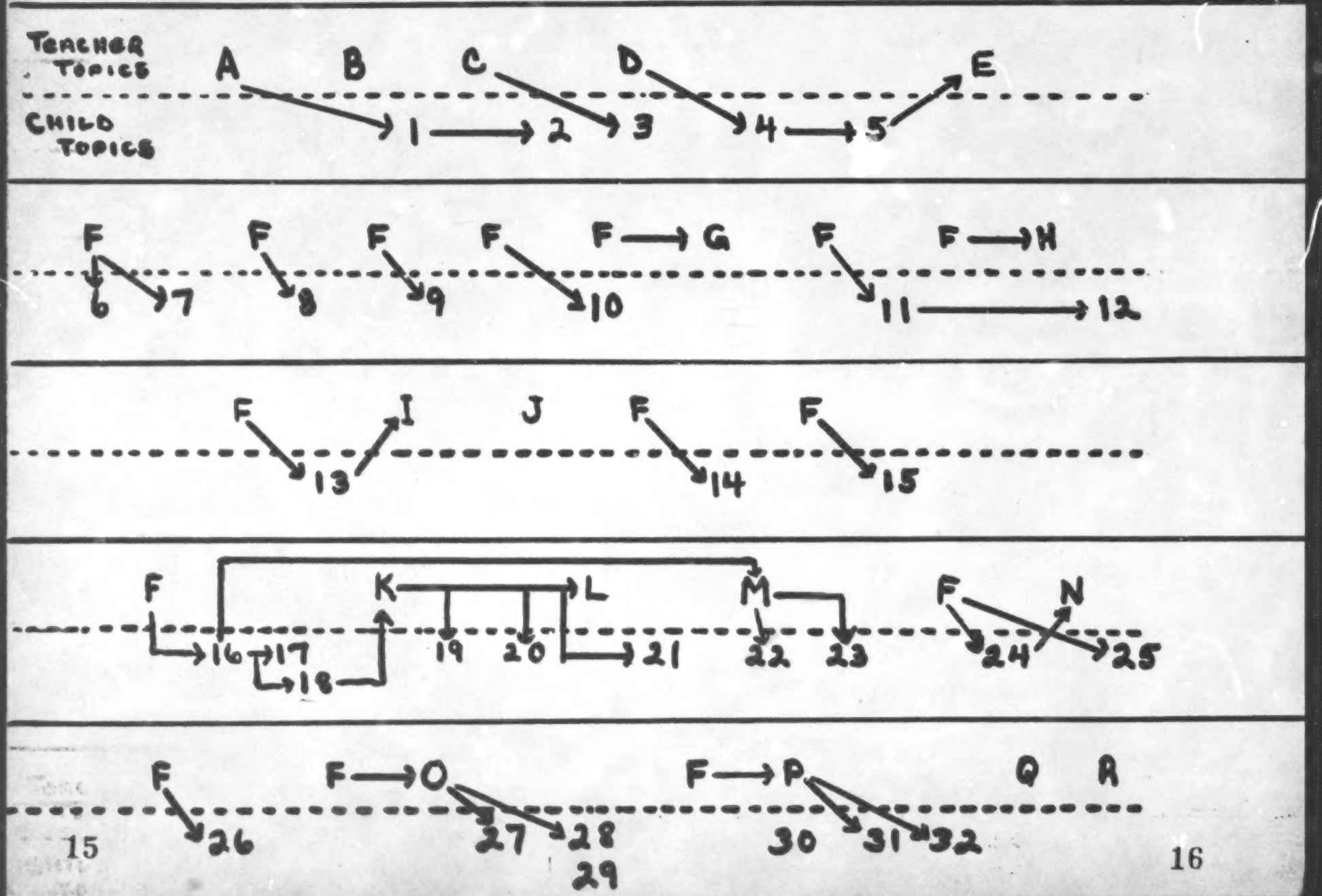
of the pair is contingent on the first, that is, arose to some degree because of the first. It can be seen that nearly all children's topics arose out of previous topics, the one notable exception being topic 30, when Kevin starts to talk about the wind outside. A second topic (29--"I heared that when Madeline got into the water"), while certainly related to the story presently under discussion, is not related to any recently discussed topics. Further child-initiated topics nearly always arose from teacher-initiated topics. The teacher, on the other hand, often switches topics more abruptly, her topics being contingent on a previous topic much less of the time (only 11 times throughout the transcript). Occassionally, however, either the teacher or

Figure 2: Topical Structure



a child will raise a topic which is contingent on a topic raised previously by another child (Teacher's topics E, I and N and Children's topics 12, 17 and 18 for instance).

Further analyses were performed to consider how children and teachers might initiate topics through questions. One analysis compared the teacher and children on the likelihood of using a question to initiate a topic, and a second considered, in cases where topics were initiated by questions, what type of question was used and what function, the question was intended to serve. Of the 17 topics raised by the teacher (excluding the story itself), nearly 60% (10 topics) were initiated by a question, whereas of the topics raised by children, only 28% (9 topics) were initiated by questions. Further, of those topics initiated by a question from a child, 8 arose directly from the story, were in fact requests for more information about something in the story, and were nearly all wh- type questions. Of the topics initiated by a teacher question, only 4 were informational and these were yes/no questions, the remaining 6 being instructional in nature, 4 being wh- questions and 2 being yes/no questions.

Discussion

What can be said of the conversation that occurred in this teaching session? In many ways, it conformed to what has been found in other studies of classroom discourse. So for instance one third of the teacher's utterances were questions as Shuy (1980) also reports, and over half of these were intended for instructional purposes as reported by Bellack et al (1966) and Goody (1978). In other words, the teacher used her questions to make the children think or to allow her to see what the children knew. It seems then

that this teacher is indeed using questions as a means of control in the class, a use which violates one of Lakoff's principles of conversation, namely that to ask a question, the speaker should need to know the answer. This suggests that a rule for classroom discourse might take into account that a teacher can know the answer to questions she asks. Presumably by virtue of her authority then, the teacher has the right to use questions to find out what her listeners know and to control what will be said and hence what will be thought about in the classroom. One further point in this regard concerns the teacher's responses to the children's requests for information. She seldom answers their questions directly but rather uses the questions to launch a discussion often merely rephrasing it for the class. (The one notable exception is to the question "what's a vase?" which she answers directly). This suggests another possible rule for classroom discourse, namely that, by virtue of their authority, teachers need not supply the information requested of them. Thus Grice's Cooperative Principle may not apply as such to the teachers' responses whereas it does seem to apply to the children's. It would be quite inappropriate for children at this level of schooling to respond to a teacher's question with another question.

In considering the kind of question used in this classroom setting, we find that nearly all the questions are of the yes/no type or wh- type. Generally then short answers are all that is required of the children and similarly all that they require of the teacher. It is interesting that the teacher uses so few open-ended questions, questions considered by Shuy to be the most useful in the answers they elicit. Presumably the reason for this is that they would be too difficult for children at this level of

schooling. It seems that as children progress through school, the questions they are required to answer become increasingly open-ended. As students become accountable for more information then, teachers' questions become less specific. Presumably, some knowledge that students gain in school concerns the kinds of responses they are expected to make to these open-ended questions. In kindergarten, however, children can not be expected to handle these questions adequately. A rule of classroom discourse (effective classroom discourse at least) may be to only ask questions that the listener (or some listeners) can successfully answer, both in terms of information and organization. Interestingly, 60% of the questions used by the teacher for instructional purposes are wh- type quesations, considered by Shuy to be more useful for eliciting answers than the yes/no questions this teacher used for instructional purposes the rest of the time. It would be useful to compare this strategy of questioning with other teachers' strategies at the same level to see if using more or less wh- questions for instruction leads to as effective a discussion. It may be that this combination of harder wh-questions with some easier yes/no questions is an optimum strategy for encouraging young children to think but without frustrating them with too frequent failures.

With regard to the raising of topics, children in this class initiate nearly twice as many topics as does the teacher (excluding the story itself). Again about half of these relate directly to the story and hence are probably topics the teacher wanted raised and possibly would have raised herself. The interesting finding concerning the openning and closing of topics is that while both the teacher and children close or switch topics raised by the teacher

with similar frequency, the teacher nearly always (80%) closes or switches topics raised by the children. One can conclude from this, that in this particular group, the teacher maintains control of the conversation, more through closings than openings. It seems this teacher can rely on these children to raise topics she considers appropriate to the discussion along with their more personal accounts. She then exercises control by switching topics, often somewhat abruptly as in those instances where she returns to the story with little or no warning. Indeed from the analysis of topical structure, it is clear that, while both teacher and children can raise topics contingent on topics raised previously by either, only the teacher can successfully raise topics that represent abrupt changes in theme. There are several instances where topics raised by the teacher are not contingent on a previous topic, this in addition to the numerous times the story is re-introduced. The two attempts by children to do so are less successful ("I heared the one about the water" and "I heard the wind rustling"—both on p. 30 of transcript), no doubt because they are so far off-topic as to be inappropriate. That so few attempts were made by children to introduce such "off-topic" topics may be an indication that the children in this class have already mastered Grice's maxim of Quality, be relevant. One might suppose, however, that since the teacher is in control of the class, anything she says will be relevant, in other words she sets the limits of relevancy.

So far as those topics that were initiated by questions are concerned, the pattern of questions is about the same as it is for the entire transcript. A larger percent of teacher-raised topics were initiated by questions (60%) than for child-raised topics (28%), although the absolute numbers are about the same.

For the children, however, nearly all of these topics arose directly from the story itself and a need for more information. For the teacher, on the other hand, most of these questions are instructional in nature, intended to make the children think. Again, this suggests that while children in the classroom use questions in a less formal, more conversational manner, teachers more often use questions to maintain control and to hold students accountable, a use more or less confined to schooled or formal learning situations. It would be interesting to see the developmental changes children go through in their schooling. Do they, for instance, drop the more conversational manner of asking the teacher for information as they progress in school? The older child may well adopt the stance that the teacher will tell him everything he needs to know about something. Children in the middle school years may not ask questions of the teacher then, a finding in fact reported by Goody (1978) in a study of the Gonja of Ghana. Moreover, with more advanced schooling children may come to use questions but in a more formal, instructional manner, in other words to hold teachers accountable for information. Certainly this appears to be the case for university students.

This paper has briefly considered conversational competence in a kindergarten classroom, with emphasis specifically on question-usage and topic maintenance and control. With regard to these features of discourse, suggestions were made conerning the differences between discourse in a group learning situation and in normal everyday conversation. The conclusion drawn is that certain rules of conversation do not apply in the classroom particularly with regard to the teacher's questions and remarks. Some alternative rules were suggested. The explanation offerred for these findings considered the necessity for the teacher to maintain control of the discussion

and at the same time enhance the learning of strategies appropriate to classroom discourse. The children, on the other hand, use language in a more conversational, less formal manner, as evidenced by their questions and their responses to questions. Finally the suggestion was made that, with years of schooling, the informal use of question declines in the classroom and their more formal usage develops.

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APPENDIX

Notation for Transcript

T	Teacher utterance.
ch	Child utterance. (where the same voices could be identified throughout, marked as: ch 1 = child 1, ch 2 + child 2, etc.)
[	Open square bracket at head of utterances marks simultaneous talking by 2 or more speakers.
X[	Open square bracket preceded by letter marks a single topic introduced by the teacher.
n[	Open square bracket preceded by number marks a single topic introduced by a child.
/	Slash marks topic boundaries with a speaker's turn.
——	Solid underscoring marks a question.
~~	Broken underscoring marks an indirect question.
|	Vertical line marks utterance boundaries within turns.
...	Periods indicate pauses--one period equals approximately 1/4 second.

TOPICAL STRUCTURE

Topic	Opens (T - teacher, C - child)	Closes	# turns	# utt's	Initiating utt S or Q	Function (Q's)	Ques Type
A. letter M	T	T	6	8	S		
B. Selena's book	T	T	4	7	Q	Info.	y/n
1. Madeline	C	T	15	17	S		
C. where M. lives	T	T	18	27	S		
2. heard it before	C	T	7	10	S		
D. Paris	T	T	5	8	S		
3. house-building	C	C	3	5	S		
4. mother's going to Paris	C	T	5	6	S		
5. another mother	C	T	4	4	S		
E. Susan going to Paris	T	T	6	8	Q	Inst.	y/n
F. story	T	C	7	8	S		
6. recognize story	C	T	3	4	S		
7. black thing	C	T	14	21	Q	Info.	y/n
F. story	T	C	11	16	S		
8. why Madeline sad?	C	T	2	2	Q	Info.	wh-
F. story	T	C	1	2	S		
9. where Madeline is	C	T	3	4	S		
F. story	T	C	2	3	S		
10. what's an appendix?	C	T	12	21	Q	Info.	wh-
F. story	T	T	2	6	S		
G. where is Madeline going?	T	C	2	2	Q	Inst.	wh-
F. story	T	C	5	6	S		
11. what's a crank?	C	T	11	17	Q	Info.	wh-
F. story	T	T	3	5	S		
H. rhyming words	T	C	5	9	Q	Inst.	wh-
12. sleeping in a bed with crank	C	T	5	5	S		
F. story	T	C	1	3	S		
13. where's Madeline	C	T	4	4	Q	Info.	wh-

TOPICAL STRUCTURE

Topic	Opens	Closes	# turns	# utt's	Initiating utt S or Q	Function (Q's)	Ques. Type
I. how many girls?	T	C	12	18	Q	Inst.	(wh.
J. Robbie and Andrew	T	T	3	6	Q	Info.	y/n
F. story	T	C	1	1	S		
14. where's the hospital?	C	T	6	7	Q	Info.	wh-
F. story	T	C	1	1	S		
15. what's a vase	C	T	3	3	Q	Info.	wh-
F. story	T	C	1	2	S		
16. what's a vase	C	C	3	5	Q	Info.	wh-
17. Robbie's scar	C	C	29	39	S		
18. Yvett's scar	C	T	9	16	S		
K. other scars	T	C	3	4	Q	Info.	y/n
19. sister's scars	C	C	4	5	S		
20. itchy	C	T	2	2	S		
L. Blair's scar	T	T	27	36	Q	Info.	y/n
F. story	T	C	1	1	S		
21. Samantha's scar	C	T	7	9	Q	Inter.	y/n
M. why scar is on stomach	T	T	35	51	(S)	Inst.	wh-
22. Kevin's ears	C	T	2	2	S		
23. mother's operation	C	T	2	2	S		
F. story	T	C	3	5	S		
24.	C	T	5	7	S		
N. another reason	T	T	3	3	S		
25. extra bed	C	C	3	5	S		
F. story	T	C	6	9	S		
26. lost a girl	C	T	12	20	S		
F. story	T	T	2	5	S		
O. fun to have an operation	T	C	5	5	Q	Inst.	y/n

TOPICAL STRUCTURE

Topic	Opens	Closes	# turns	# utt's	Initiating utt. S or Q	Function (Q's)	Ques type
27. presents	C	T	12	23	S		
28. baby sister	C	C	8	12	S		
29. heard the one about water	C	T	2	2	S		
P. story	T	T	1	9	S		
P. talk about the story	T	C	2	3	S		
30. heard the wind	C	T	2	5	S		
31. Ian's earache	C	T	3	9	S		
32. Kevin's ears	C	T	4	19	S		
Q. about the school	T	T	1	8	S		
R. library books	T	T	1	2	S		